

*L. J. Lefer*

A  
SUPPLEMENT

*K* TO SOME  
REMARKS

ON THE  
APPARENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE WAR,  
In the Fourth Week of October, 1795;

OR,  
REFLEXIONS

ON THE ONLY MEANS OF TERMINATING  
THE WAR.

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“ The strange whole purpose of their lives, to find,  
“ To make, an enemy of all mankind.” POPE.

durum,  
sed levius fit patientia,  
quidquid corrigere est nefas.. HOR.

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## A SUPPLEMENT, &c.

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THE public mind, at this present moment, is employed upon the important question of a Peace. They who, assimilating this to former wars, only consider the heavy expences, blood-shed, troubles, and dangers attending, wish and call aloud for a Peace; but such as are mindful that the war was undertaken only for the protection and preservation of those interests the most dear to men, anxiously enquire, whether the intended end has been obtained. Others, who imagine the present scarcity of corn to proceed from the war, also call for a Peace, at any price, upon any terms, cost what it may. This last subject has been amply discussed in a late publication, wherein it is proved to demonstration, that, if a Peace should take place, the ports of France would then be open, the French at liberty to rove the seas, and the scarcity which is so much complained of in England, inevitably be increased, instead of being remedied. I had a French translation of that work in readiness at the time when another was published;

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ed ; however, the perusal of the book has convinced me of the propriety of the Author's observations, the solidity of his arguments, and the depth of his views ; and after having maturely considered his ideas, I venture to offer some of my own.

From the particular attention with which I have read *The Remarks on the apparent Circumstances of the War, &c.* I could not but notice the peculiar circumspection of the Author. It appeared to me that his thoughts went far beyond what he chose to express in writing ; agreeable to persuasion, I have been induced to publish such ideas as he thought proper to cast a veil over ; to elucidate those he has merely hinted ; and, of course, the object of these Reflections is to begin where he has left off.

I am not unacquainted with the reserve and prudence that are suitable to a person, in a public character ; but I know that a private individual may venture beyond these limits, without danger, or even impropriety. I am no more ignorant that there are certain points of such a nicety, that an Englishman could not be permitted to deliver his candid opinion upon them, unless in opposition to deeply-rooted national prejudices. The Author of the *Remarks* being thus influenced, is no reason that a foreigner, a Frenchman, should, especially in the present urgent circumstances.

“ Then altho' wife I may not be,

“ The wife themselves will copy me.”

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I am sensible how arduous my undertaking is, how many difficulties I shall have to encounter. My reflections, if compared to those of that Author, I am convinced, will be found far inferior; but it is not my intention to enter the list as an antagonist; I only endeavour to reason from the same principles, draw such consequences as every reader must regret his having purposely omitted, for he certainly would have done them more justice than I am able to do.

Besides other prejudices will militate against me, and those I have just mentioned most powerfully; for it might so happen, that my very opinion should be construed into a prejudice.

The author of the Remarks has triumphantly obtained his chief end: he proves that it would be contrary to the interest of England and of Europe, and to the safety of civil society at large, to terminate the present war; unless, by an universal pacification, a true Peace, upon a solid and durable foundation, proper to restore the tranquillity of Europe in general, and that of Great Britain in particular. He has demonstrated, that a Peace of any other nature, would be no better than a sham Peace, a short suspension of hostilities, conducive neither to the glory or interest of England; in short, he has made it clear, that a similar indispensable treaty is not to be concluded, but with such a Power as might offer a probable security of its execution, and that

such a security is not to be expected from a nation without a government. He has also proved that France, incessantly devoured by contrary factions, which by turns have usurped a fluctuating authority, can boast of no other government, that excepted which is the overthrow of all others, *The Revolutionary Government*; that, indeed, for these two last months, a new Constitution has been established there, but the duration of this newly erected Constitution, is not so certain as to command great confidence; for we are forced to confess, that hitherto France has not been very successful in essays of this kind. "What then must be done in such thick darkness?" says the author, "wait the coming day."

But where are we to look to for the auspicious day which is to restore Europe to happiness, and re-establish social system upon its ancient basis? What shall be this creative light which shall arise over France, and clear the chaos that overwhelms it? According to the Author of the Remarks, it ought to be a system of government so calculated as to make the French a civilized nation again, recal their former connections with other people; in short, be conformable to the society of Europe.

Here begins my task; and I presume to tell that no Government of the kind can ever spring from the mire of the French insurrection.

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Governments are to be considered as bodies, composed of certain constituent principles of *Power and Confidence, Rights and Obligations*, from which, as they are tempered by each other, arise the authority of the Sovereign, and the obedience of the subjects. It is sufficiently apparent, from their nature, that these wonderful edifices are not entirely of human fabric; that they were planned and executed from above. Several ages are employed to consolidate them; yet they may be overthrown in one single day. Therefore, it is necessary, that every system of government should be founded upon the moral basis of eternal justice, otherwise there would be no sanction to its laws, nothing could guaranty their duration, nothing secure their execution: the government at home would not be able to protect the property of the people; nor abroad to maintain its treaties. The truth of this assertion was universally acknowledged previous to the late self-created French legislators, and their repeated attempts to deny and oppose it, must have contributed to its confirmation. Notwithstanding the code which they have endeavoured to introduce, justice and sincerity will still prevail amongst men, and faithful to their sworn treaties, such nations as acknowledge a God, a witness of their engagements will continue to think themselves bound, by an oath, which can never be violated without a perjury.

Now,

Now, can it be expected, agreeable to reason, that the present rulers of France, shall have it in their power, to organize a system of government consistent with these principles, and to renew a durable intercourse with foreign countries?

They are the same men, who, openly abjured religion and morality; have trampled under-foot all that was held sacred upon earth; contemptuously laughed at their most sacred oaths and *Conventions*! Have they not made a public avowal of their design, to overthrow every existing social institution? Have they not infected Europe by their perfidious emissaries?

Can it be believed that these leaders can frame a rational government; that is to say, a system founded upon justice, favourable to humanity, so calculated as to encourage morality, punish the guilty, and secure property? And that heaven will permit any nation whatever to receive such laws from their hands! No, ye men who are endowed with reason, whatever country you may belong to, you cannot believe it.

It may be alleged, that, although they are the same men, they no longer act according to their former maxims; but, have they advanced one single step towards the paths of morality? They no longer assassinate! How virtuous! This, however, is their only improvement; this is all they have done to reconcile to themselves all Europe so long incensed at the very  
report



report of their atrocious crimes. I have heard, of late, the discipline which has been established through their armies, much vaunted and highly commended; but it is by no means difficult, from the numberless acts of violence that they have committed recently, when they quitted the right Banks of the Rhine, to perceive how much such converts are to be confided in.

The principles of the French Revolution have never varied since its very beginning, only in their progress. The characters are the same; the actors may be seen to dislodge and supplant one another on the moveable stage, but they continually perform the same tragedy. A similar ambition animates them; the same immorality guides them. From the time when a *Great Statesman*, who scattered the seeds of insurrection through the whole kingdom, issued a proclamation to invite a train of scribblers to deliver their opinion on the mode of assembling the *Etats-Généraux*, and sapped the foundations of the Monarchy, by forcing the junction of the *Orders* down to the last decree that shall be issued by those enemies to justice, every transaction must tend to perpetuate subversion.

The first Assembly, which was called the Constituent Assembly, the most guilty of all, since it has destroyed the mound, and let a free passage to the deluge of calamities that has inundated France; this fatal Assembly, I say, has logged the foundation of the reign  
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of immorality. Perjury presided at the new formation. Regardless of their former oaths, they first contrived to degrade that religion which they had resolved to annihilate. They avowedly professed injustice, when they seized lawful property ; they introduced a new doctrine of useful crimes ; and of many thousand murders committed, either by their express or private commands, not one has been avenged.

It is not my intention to introduce a disgusting enumeration of the odious crimes the French Revolution has occasioned. I only sketch those of the Constituent Assembly, far exceeded by their successors, in order to trace back the spirit of the Revolution from its origin. I would wish my readers to recal to mind, that the majority of the first Assembly has formed the unanimity of the two succeeding ones ;\* and that in this description of monsters, from Mirabeau down to Tallien, not one single voice has been heard to speak in favour of outraged justice, or distressed humanity.

We must likewise notice how attentively they watch and perpetuate the kindled sacred fire of their abominable worship. It was first entrusted to the care of the Jacobins ; in their infernal sanctuary was deposited the fatal urn, from whence were drawn the names of those who have composed the second or Legislative Assembly, and the last Convention ; and of late,

\* It has been said, with as much truth as precision, that the two last Assemblies were a crime of the first.

late, in order to prevent the intruding of some principle, foreign to their designs, they have rendered their new Constitution subservient to secure to themselves at least the majority of the two-thirds. They are identified; they must perpetuate confusion with which their power, if not their existence, must cease: for which reason, rather than divest themselves of their usurped authority, they have carried the decree by force of arms; in such a manner, that they are now certain the field is theirs for some time to come: but it is to be considered, that though the new Constitution may be ever so good, it can be productive of no good effect, but in proportion as the leaders will permit.

Some persons are inclined to look upon this Constitution, as a first step towards the restoration of order. They seem to hope that the leaders, tired with agitations, and overwhelmed with the difficulties inseparable from the exhausted condition of their finances, do sincerely wish to put an end to the prevailing disorder. Alas! is it possible such men can really form such a desire? Though we should be disposed to forget who they are, and what they have done, yet they cannot forget it themselves. They cannot dissemble the horror that they inspire, and we may remember many important words uttered by their own mouths upon the subject. They are no strangers to the lot that awaits them, the very moment they are no longer dreaded. They are con-

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scious, that should the smallest ray of reason break forth among them, they would be frightened at themselves; and they know, that when the day of Justice returns, their final day shall be arrived.

But wherefore, may it be argued, has the new Constitution been made, unless it is to restore the appearance of a Government? To this I will answer---several reasons prevailed. First, it was proper, nay, even necessary, to exhibit a new spectacle to a nation fond of novelties, and accustomed for five years past, to exercise over its chiefs and Constitution the same spirit of fickleness, which formerly created their new fashions; and, indeed, every one must have observed, that the representation of a new Constitution has hitherto been the last night's performance of every Assembly. In the next place, they foresee the dreadful effect of the severe scourge which threatens France, and they prepare to throw all the odium on the Convention. Should this idea appear ridiculous, let me beseech my readers, in my own vindication, to remember that such a method has been tried before, and has met with success. Have we not seen the Convention ascribe to one single individual,\* the atrocities that have made all Europe shudder? And yet, there was not one of those crimes, but which they all had sanctioned unanimously by their decrees. This monster sat with them; he was one of them; he had done nothing without their assistance, and if they say they have

\* Robespierre.

have yielded through fear, I shall answer they were more cowardly, but not less culpable. The Convention now being divided into two Houses, it will be still more easy for them to make the Convention, assembled in one house, answerable for all the calamities that are ready to burst upon France. They will seize this one chance of avoiding the fury of a people made frantic by hunger; besides, it will be a means of pointing out and committing other victims.\* Lastly, by this method they flatter themselves with the hope of re-inforcing the party that supports them in England; to make the English averse to the war; and to overthrow the Minister who would refuse to enter into a negotiation with a Nation, whose manners are become so meek, and are no longer to be reproached with not having a Constitution. They consequently have settled the important and only object of their mission, without offering to examine it closely. For three years, without interruption, or giving it a thought, they have been busied with plunder and massacres, but in less than three months time, with great confidence, according to the report of one of their committees, they have decreed a compleat system of Government, which is to repay France for all it has cost the country.

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\* Thus, by exacting a forced loan of 600 millions in specie, they point out to popular fury all those who, though possessed of landed-property, will not find it possible to procure the sum wanted to discharge theirs.



However, a general Peace would be as hurtful to them, as the separated treaties they have concluded were useful to deceive the people, and feed their hopes.

They are so thoroughly convinced of this being a real fact, that, when at the summit of their triumphs, they did not hesitate to decree they would maintain all their conquests, by incorporating them with their immensely extensive Republic; that is to say, that they have decreed conditions of Peace entirely unacceptable, or rather a war without an end. If they go on with it, are they not to apprehend, lest their starving armies should disband themselves, and revolt against them? Should they make a Peace, the same dilemma will still exist; scarcity is not removed; and, moreover, they will be exposed to the brutal activity of their troops, long since accustomed to plunder, not to mention the pretensions of the Chiefs, desirous of retaining their wonted command. The Author of the Remarks very properly observes, that a numerous army being incompatible with a Constitution, established upon a mixture of Democratical and Aristocratical principles, the return of Peace would compel them to make a great reduction of the army, an operation not easily to be managed, without great danger, so long as any relics of Royalism shall remain in La Vendée, where the dissatisfied soldiers will flock as to a rendezvous.

But

But there are some circumstances in which all measures are equally bad ; desperate circumstances for instance, such as that in which the chiefs of the French revolt, find themselves. Loaded with crimes, and surrounded by ruins, within or without, every thing is equally inimical to them.

It requires no prophetic inspiration to foretel, that this new Constitution will meet with the same fate as the rest. I even think myself authorised to say, that if France is never to receive a Constitution but from the hands of those who have framed the preceding ones, that unfortunate country will be doomed to endless anarchy.

Neither those who have sapped the foundations of the former Government, nor those who first dared to lift up their sacrilegious hand, against the capital of the edifice ; neither those who have completed the demolition of its ancient fabric, nor those who have scattered its ruins will ever restore it. No ; and may Heaven be thanked for it. Neither philosophers, nor the members of the first Assembly, nor those of the second, nor the regicides of the Convention, shall ever give a Government to France. I have given the reason why, and if I must repeat it, a Government requires at least such a portion of morality, and such principles of Justice and Religion, as may afford a security that it shall hold its compacts inviolable ; and it also must be invested with an authority, sufficiently powerful and respected

ed to support it : and I will likewise be bold to declare, though it may provoke the laughter of our modern legislators and fabricators of Constitutions, that the worst of all existing Governments would be the most wonderful prodigy, were it the work of such a set of men.

Were, therefore, the authors of the new Constitution, endowed with all the instruction and wisdom, that are requisite to erect a moderately good Constitution for twenty millions of men, which they certainly are not, I should think it no less improbable, it should be framed by them, than that if another *Æneid* should be composed by the types of a printing house, scattered at random in the air.

If we open the History of the Revolutions of Europe, what do we find there ? Ambition, seconded by force, frequently successful in tearing the sceptre from the lawful Sovereign : but ambition was ever very careful, not to entrust it to the multitude. Whenever this latter has been possessed of it; crimes and dissensions have alternately prevailed, and in this wide circle of disorder, misery starts at each point of the circumference, repose cannot find its place.

Which is the sovereign power in France at present, that of the legislators, or that of the army, no one can determine. The former have made every possible sacrifice to the latter; which, in return, has done every thing for them; but it is not yet decided with which party the benefit of this combination is to remain

main at last. The uncertainty may continue as long as the agitation remains: but, let us suppose the return of tranquillity should take place: no one would consent to give up his advantage; each would contend for the ascendancy; this new struggle would be productive of fresh calamities, and delay the restoration of order.

I will go farther, let it be admitted, that they succeed in establishing any Government whatever, they can never be empowered to put it into motion; for if the enacting of laws requires a rich fund of morality, their enforcement demands still more, and bayonets are not the only intermediate connection between the chiefs and the subjects of a Government. At the time the first Constitution was established, France had not yet to lament a general overthrow: a dutiful obedience to the laws was still unimpaired, and yet that Constitution, though of a short existence, was despised and disregarded before it was abolished. What then is to be expected at present; when all the springs are broken, and every bond loosened? So long as the rulers are only intent on doing evil; their power will be unlimited; they are certain of being punctually obeyed, often anticipated. Patriotism may be carried to the highest degree of effervescence, but if the question was to re-establish order, to check licentiousness, to repress violence and plunder, to dictate sacrifices---the order of action would be converted into frozen inactivity. Let the best  
of



of all Governments be taken into consideration: how numerous the obstacles and difficulties that bar the efforts, and oppose the wise measures of a beloved Monarch, seconded by a skilful Minister! How ineffectual and unable then must a Government be, when administered by men who are proficient only in the art of destruction.

But, even admitting that this new Constitution should be established, and in some measure consolidated, it would still be necessary to enquire, 1st, Whether there is any probability that such a Government shall be adequate to the maintenance of the customary alliance and amity with other nations? 2dly, Whether this is the only end that Europe had in view when the war took place? 3dly, Whether it would be conformable to its interest and glory to make a Peace under similar circumstances?

Should the nature of the new Government of France be disposed to admit of the compacts, common to other States, at the moment of its formation, it appears so very uncertain, it is not to be trusted: so long as experience has not confirmed it, there exists little more than a probability; and yet how frail this probability!

When we reflect on the moral character of those who are possessed of the ascendancy in France, dictate laws, and are at the helm of Government, and if we call to recollection with what rapidity the factions and systems have succeeded each other, it is difficult to perceive  
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what a security they can afford for the stability of their treaties.

Have they not torn away all the bonds which united them to other nations? It is a fact, that they have not even at present, a common language with other people; for not to mention the alteration of the Calendar, and other singularities, which draw a line between them and the rest of the world, how is it possible they could make themselves understood, since they no longer attach to words the same moral ideas as they convey to other people. These truths are so evident, that no man would wish at the present time, to entrust either his property, safety, or honour, to the justice and humanity of French integrity: considerations of more weight, require still more caution.

They who account morality nothing, and interest every thing, will not fail to object with Machiavel, that the relations of Governments with each other, have no true harmony, but that which results from the accord of their different interests: but I appeal to the judgment of all ages; this accord could not exist for one single moment if interest was its only regulator; if a sentiment of equity was not employed to moderate and prevent its irregularities; if it was not for a faithful observance of treaties, which has ever been considered as a sacred bond that unites nations, and prolongs those intervals of peace, which constitute the happiness of the world, society would have

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been

been annihilated long since; the war of interest would have destroyed the whole population of the earth.

The usurpers of sovereign power in France, from the beginning of their reign, having, on every occasion, shamefully violated public Justice and the Rights of Nations, the safety of Europe would, indeed, be exposed to great hazards, were it left to depend on the observance of their treaties.

It is impossible to speak of those worthless men, without recollecting their crimes, so intimately connected is the idea of guilt with their names: it is even tedious and disgusting to me, to mention so often their immorality, and contempt for public faith. Truth, when so evident and so well known, seems to loose of its value; it is neglected, because it is too common; it is overlooked, because it is too plain.

But in this present case, the facts, which ever stand as the best proofs, are so numerous, and so intimately connected, that they have wearied our attention, and it is disagreeable for us even to give them a thought; however, we must support truth so long as it is attacked.

Let us suppose farther, that the new Government of France should be so consolidated as to maintain political relations with other States; would the salvation of Europe ensue? Is the radical security of Europe dependent merely on simple compacts? And was there no other end in view, when Europe flew to arms.

If

If the only purport of this war has been to repel the aggression of an unjust and senseless enemy, nothing would be more natural than to make a Peace, the moment he is compelled to retreat, and to sue for Peace. If this war had been intended for conquests, it might be terminated, without impropriety, as soon as those conquests are atchieved and secured.

The French leaders are too desirous of enjoying the benefit of their crimes, not to accept of a Peace, were it offered ; and, if without enquiring into their moral incapacity, the Belligerent Powers will be satisfied with the theory of any government whatever, for the security of its continuance, this the new French Constitution may procure: But, in order to become well acquainted with the motives from which this war originated, it will suffice to recollect the danger that threatened Europe, when alarmed by the progress of revolutionary doctrine. These motives already recorded in the manifestoes proclaimed by divers nations, have also been eloquently discussed in both Houses of Parliament, and are collected in the Declaration of his Britannic Majesty, of the 29th of October, 1793. We may read there, in express terms, that the object of the war, is  
 “ not only to defend his own rights and those  
 “ of his allies,---not only to repel the unjust  
 “ aggression which he had recently experi-  
 “ enced, but that all the dearest interests of his  
 “ people imposed upon him a duty still more  
 “ important---that of exerting his efforts for



“ the preservation of civil society, as happily  
 “ established among the nations of Europe.”

Is it because the wound now gapes wider, that it is to be thought it will heal sooner? Europe must either humble itself before France, and acknowledge its impotency, in stopping the menacing contagion, or subdue the monster against whom it has taken arms.

There are some few Governments, I know, that notwithstanding the conviction of the importance of general interest, seem to neglect it, and to commit it entirely to the care and protection of those who are more capable of succeeding in the attempt; but let not their motives be misconstrued. This involuntary avowal of their insufficiency and inferiority, ought to be interpreted as an homage paid to the strength and good principles of those Governments, which Europe looks up to for support and redress; neither is it possible that those who are entrusted with a similar confidential charge, can betray their exalted and great responsibility.

It would not be the first time, that civilized nations in Europe are become the prey of Barbarians; it, therefore, is not to be wondered at if some Princes, from fear of seeing them invade their dominions, and in order to drive them back from their frontiers, which they were not able to protect, have concluded separate treaties; but these particular negotiations, the offspring of urgency, do not associate their authors to the political body of Europe.

Europe. These powers are destitute of a character to secure their duration. But, that all the Kings of Europe, after having formed a coalition in order to chastise the rebels, should solemnly unite to legitimate their revolt, and that the irreconcilable enemies of mankind at large, those determined conspirators against the order of society, armed with hostile principles, and who, instead of waving the olive, brandish with their bloody hands the weapon of confusion, should dictate or even be granted terms of Peace, would be unparalleled in the annals of the world. Europe, subjected to so disgraceful a treaty, must then close in ignominy the eighteenth century.

Should those ambitious and perverse leaders procure, by any means whatever, their revolt to be legitimated, and their authority sanctioned, they then will be ranked amongst the Powers of Europe, and their triumph will be complete; they will have obtained more than if they had effected the conquest of Europe.

However, at this present moment, their success is rapidly declining, although, for a time, this unexpected success, seconded by the favourable aid of the elements, had, in some measure, subdued the minds of their enemies; but before it is long their prodigious efforts shall have only served to hasten the manifest and irreparable exhaustion that ensures their speedy ruin.

I wonder, I must confess, at the encomiums that are sometimes lavished upon their military

tary expeditions. It appears to me that their advantages were purchased too dearly by money and blood to be admired, and likewise by too many crimes to be envied. It was naturally to be expected, that in the first moment of general alarm, their conquests should have excited surprise; yet, if we do but reflect maturely, we must acknowledge that they are far inferior to the exaggerated means by which they were obtained.

A whole generation of men, from growing youth to decrepit old age, has been dragged under their banners; hunger and terror have driven to their camps, all such as were able to lift up a musket; the manufactures, warehouses and country, were left desert for the recruitment and service of the armies: the magazines, pay and subsistence, have devoured, within five years, the capital of the whole income of half a century. The single conveyance of that heavy and formidable artillery, with which they support their battalions, costs them dearer, for any one single and trifling advantage, than the loss of a battle to their enemy. It is thus that, though often defeated, always superior in number, they will on the very next day oppose a fresh army, which is again succeeded by a third, composed of their choicest troops, which encounter an harrassed enemy, tired and weakened by two days victories, and, of course, are forced at last to relinquish the field they are no longer able to maintain. It is by those means

means that, sacrificing without regret or remorse to their frantic rage, both the resources and lives of the present generation, and the hopes and happiness of those to come, they have succeeded in spreading terror over all Europe. If there is any thing to excite astonishment and surprise, it is not what they have obtained by such measures, but rather how they were able to carry such measures into effect. It is wonderful, indeed, that a whole nation should have suffered itself to be enthralled, muzzled, and driven to be slaughtered by a set of vile and contemptible men, who continually repeated that it was from this very nation that they held their authority. History itself may be at a loss how to account for the phenomenon, whilst it will, with the utmost facility, do justice to their successes, by comparing them with their means and measures; admitting, however, that history will descend to the particulars of this war, or record it in any other terms, but as the accidental inundation of a destructive torrent.

I do not know, whether he who first advised the French to rise in a mass, thought he employed a noble expression, or conveyed a grand idea; but I may answer, that he spoke and recommended a great absurdity. Is it not evident, that by this strange metamorphosis of a whole nation into an army, its territory and industry are reduced to barrenness? The husbandmen, the artisans of every descrip-



description, disappear ; none but soldiers remain. Let it be considered, that, that resource which stifles every other, is the harbinger of certain ruin. When a whole people marches, in this manner, to oppose the armies of the enemy, which, though they may be ever so numerous, are never composed but of a very small portion of the population, can and must at first meet with some advantages ; but, although at the first setting off it had so powerful a superiority, it must be overpowered at last. There comes a time when this desperate situation forces it to advance continually ; the moment it retreats it is ruined, for the country which was ravaged and exhausted in its first passage, lies waste and can afford no supplies.

Though we should allow it possible, that any Government whatever can be established on the ruins of France, I yet maintain that it would be of greater importance to Europe to prevent such a shameful resurrection, than it was to stop the progress of the first disorder ; for it is evident that it would be the triumph of guilt, and likewise justify and encourage every species of crime.

We all know that it becomes necessary to negotiate with rebels when there are no hopes of subduing them, or when it would cost more blood and treasure than their submission should be worth ; but a revolution that resembles no other, either in its principles or deplorable effects, prescribes a very different conduct.

However

However odious rebellions may be, those we are acquainted with were founded upon some specious motives ; they might conceal themselves under some appearance of justice ; they endeavoured to find respectable supports : but, in France, it is rebellion with all its audacity, licentiousness in its delirium, injustice in its nudity, crime in all its horror. Other revolutions present one authority superseded by another, one form of Government substituted to another ; public order was undoubtedly shaken, but not overthrown ; social felicity suffered, but its basis was not destroyed ; there always remained some foundations of morality to support the new edifice : but, in France, justice, authority, laws, every thing has fallen a victim to the poignard of Guilt. The only right that is preserved is that of Force ; and, instead of the comforting prospect offered by Religion, they have dug the dreadful abyss of despair and annihilation.\* In fine, the effect of former revolutions was confined to the only countries in which they took place ; their influence did not reach beyond their limits. How different is a revolution founded upon the ruins of social order ? Mankind at large are concerned ; the felicity of the whole world is in danger.

Some persons pretend that the French revolutionists have renounced their former

\* This is the sense of the inscription they have placed on the gates of their burying grounds, in which they declare that---*Death is an eternal sleep.*

maxims, because they no longer make them the preamble to their laws. It may, perhaps, be alleged with more truth, that if they seem to pay less attention to them than formerly, it is because they know that they have not so much occasion to repeat them. The seeds are sown, they shoot silently, and Europe, if regardless of the warnings it has received, facilitates their growth and improvement, in a very short time, will reap a fatal harvest.

The nature of those maxims, their falsity, the fondness of men for fiction, the egotism of the age, every thing increases the danger. They tell those who possess nothing, that at last their time is come; and, that if they overthrow the Constitution of their country, they will take the place of those who possess something. They tell those who obey, that if they re-assume the authority which belongs to them, they will be masters in their turn. Is it to be wondered at, if such a doctrine has so many proselytes in a corrupt age? It brings into action the two most violent passions of men, the love of riches, and the desire of command. Of what advantage can it be if the promoters of this doctrine have been made sensible of the necessity of giving it up, the better to enjoy the power they have usurped. I see nothing very encouraging in that; are their principles become less dangerous since the consequences have turned to their advantage? Has their doctrine ceased to be contagious since it has been crowned with success?

cess? Are their projects less menacing, because they are more matured? The wicked ever have two aims, the unhappiness of others, and their own welfare; when the first is obtained, if their blows are less to be dreaded, their example is much more so.

Besides, so short an interval, cannot possibly secure Europe from the explosions of the volcano; and the only means of preventing its continual threatenings is to extinguish it in its fiercest blaze.

Let us therefore repeat it again and again, since so many are inclined to forget it; the war being the most powerful mound that can oppose this eruption, it will spread with a new rage as soon as Peace shall have broken it down. The preachers of the new doctrine will appear, with a bribe in one hand and a treaty of Peace in the other. They no longer will find any occasion to have recourse to obscure principles, or to metaphysical reasonings, which are always attended with doubt and suspicion; the facts will speak for themselves; they will appear triumphant, and enriched with the spoils of those whom they have either stripped or murdered. They will be welcome and honoured as the rivals and equals of Monarchs; and it cannot be denied but that such a method of arguing is very attracting and powerful; it dazzles the eyes, and conveys persuasion to the multitude.

Such apprehensions will not seem exaggerated to a nation who long since has acknow-



ledged their reality, and who after a greater conviction of the danger being imminent, have recently decreed two new laws the better to protect their liberty from the attack of licentiousness, and to secure their Sovereign from the outrages of an enraged mob, and the dagger of the assassin.

Our fears are so well founded, that it must be evident there is not one nation in Europe, but is infected with the pestilence of French destructive principles. The contagion first attacked that unhappy country: perhaps it deserved to serve as an example, on account of the universality of its language having contributed the most to the propagation of the pestiferous seeds; but they who can imagine, and flatter themselves that the example of the calamities which desolate France, will suffice to cure the revolutionary pestilence, will be very much mistaken. Experience hath proved the contrary. A senseless populace have been, and are yet seen, in countries ruined by the scourge of the French armies to bless and deify their maxims. The sight of a man dying of the plague has never been sufficient to cure his neighbour, when first he begins to be infected himself; but it is known how pleasing such a sight is to the villains who enter the houses of distress to plunder them as soon as they are no longer inhabited.

Other nations must not persuade themselves that the dreadful example before their eyes is a certain remedy against their internal disorder,

order, or that it can prevent them from acting, in their turn, a part on the bloody stage; for, without comparing the nations of Europe to each other, their motions and manners are like their dress, nearly the same. But if we wish to know that degree of corruption which must, one day or other, occasion their decay, there are some rules which may guide our calculations; for instance, let the comparative increase of their theatres, that of the idle who throng there, be considered; let their books be consulted; also their libraries, or rather the shops of their booksellers; for there is more particularly to be found the thermometer of public fermentation.

In truth, at all times, there have been teachers of immorality, and anti-social schools; but their lessons, universally disapproved, were known in former times only by the scandal they occasioned, and were confined to the dust of the library. Now, on the contrary, those principles being renewed under all sorts of forms, they are to be found at every page of the most frivolous publication. At a time when the spirit of independence, the harbinger of rebellion prevails through every situation, the violence of the disorder is no longer doubtful, nor the necessity of applying a speedy and efficacious remedy: in a word, the revolution arising from the filth of vice which infects Europe, is the result of the most corrupt fermentation,

mentation, and on its consequences depends the fate of civil society in this part of the globe.

The better to judge of the present condition of the political body of Europe; the better to feel the state of its pulse, if I may be permitted the expression, let the slow and torpid pulsations be compared to the quick and burning delirium that agitated this part of the world in the twelfth century, when the Sovereigns and people called forth, in the same manner, as they are at present, by the united voices of Religion, generosity and honour ran in crowds to Asia. Those valourous expeditions which excited the admiration of our forefathers, are, I know, become the object of the contempt and censure of modern philosophers. They have chiefly endeavoured to condemn the motive, which history itself has ever respected, although it disapproved of the imprudence of the measures. They have represented the general enthusiasm as an exalted delirium, a political fever; but let it be so, let us suppose, that enthusiasm was a fever; it was that of honour; whereas it is much to be apprehended, lest the fatal calm that prevails at present, is the effect of gangreen, the deadly symptom of approaching dissolution.

What a moment for the nation entitled to consider itself as destined to prevent the dreadful overthrow! Though it was postponed only for a few centuries, it would reap all the

the glory of such a benefit, and share the blessings it will procure. This nation will be called the benefactress of all nations, a name that will be everlasting in the memory of men.

Sovereigns of the world, Princes or Kings, who hold those high stations, only the better to watch for the safety of the people, and to protect them from their own errors; if at so critical a period, you should consent to compromise with the pestilence that threatens to devour your States, the decree of the National Convention of France, which invited to revolt all the wicked men of every country, would only have been the prelude of the treaty of peace that would secure impunity to them: and you, who live under the laws of liberty, if you honour it in reality, if you wish not to see it sacrificed to a vain shadow, beware how you treat with the monster that has assumed the title of Liberty. Unite on the contrary, to oppose his fatal triumphs; for the cause of liberty shall be stained for ever, if we associate to her worship, that idol of filth, besmeared with blood, which reckons among its martyrs, every *Marat* of the present revolution. Lastly, you virtuous men of every country, who although unacquainted with the Government that protects you, nevertheless are fully sensible of its salutary effects; you who, in your peaceful occupations, serve your country better in bringing up and maintaining citizens, destined to enrich and defend it, than all the political



political enthusiasts, who in order to gratify their vanity, endeavour to mislead your minds by all manner of illusions, and visions; if you value ever so little your own happiness, tranquillity and safety; if you regard the dearest interest of life; if you feel the least affection for your wives and children, beware of those dangerous sophists. They possess neither property nor principles: they are men of no character, or of a stained character, and they have nothing to loose in the wreck they meditate. Suffer then a little longer, if possible, the evils that are inseparable from a war, rather than call for a fatal peace that would be attended by the most disastrous consequences.

When I thus discourage hopes, which it would be so pleasing to encourage could they be realized, can I be suspected of wishing for a prolongation of the war? Is not our situation cruel enough to make us desirous of a speedy peace? Have we not long enough lived a wretched life? Proscribed and exiled from our native land, our paternal home, wandering from country to country, we can hardly find one place of refuge in the whole extent of the world, this hospitable island excepted, where every kind of consolation and assistance have been offered to us. Here, indeed, the unfortunate victims of honour, religion and duty, have found a people well acquainted with all the power of those sentiments. Here a beloved monarch has welcomed,  
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with true Royal benevolence, the loyal subjects of another unfortunate Sovereign: But, is it to be expected that, even in this country, which is a second mother country to us, we can be insensible to the everlasting calamities of our first? Many are there among us who have left behind them a family, the constant object of their daily alarms and apprehensions, exposed at every minute to some new accident? Can it be believed that a Frenchman can loose all remembrance of France? His heart must bleed at every wound aimed at his country; his situation is, and must be most cruel and deplorable. The unfortunate wretch, who, upon a bed of sorrow becomes a prey to a corrosive ulcer which threatens to spread its infection through the most secret recesses of his vital powers, is forced to thank, though groaning, the skilful surgeon who applies instruments and fire itself to his mutilated body, or rather his shapeless trunk; such is now the dire fate of Frenchmen! They are reduced to the necessity of giving their approbation to every amputation their dear country undergoes.

Some great politicians, however, will tell us, that every thing must necessarily come to an end, and that we may hope to see order arise from the very bosom of confusion. A similar charge, I confess, might be the effect of a miracle; but that we should expect such an effect from the cause alluded to, I deny; for, what will those men do who are repre-

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sented to us as deprived of any further resource?---What will they do? All they are capable of: evil, evil again, and evil for ever.

Since it is impossible, that from a putrified source should spring a Constitution practicable in France, or any form of Government compatible with the safety of other countries, since it is impossible to conclude at present, with France, a solid and durable Peace; since Europe will be still exposed to the same danger so long as the focus of rebellion exists there, by what means can Europe rid itself of this exhausting and ruinous war? What means remains to England to restore tranquillity to France and mankind? I know but of one, which is firmly to determine to exert its utmost efforts to re-establish the former Monarchy.

I am no stranger to the impression such a word will cause; to the prejudices it will awaken; to the apprehensions it must occasion; and to the alarms it must give to many claimants; but I will endeavour to prove that such prejudices and alarms are void of any foundation.

Whoever has heard in England any mention made of the former Government of France, must have observed, that the English have generally adopted the idea, that the French Monarchy was absolute and truly despotic. It is in vain that the greatest Monarchs have acknowledged and declared that the Consti-  
tution

tution of the State was supported and protected by fundamental laws, that they themselves were so fortunately circumstanced as not to have it in their power to change them. In vain have we seen Courts of Justice oppose, with noble resistance, the will of their Monarch, and instruct him by their humble remonstrances; in vain has the King himself submitted, in competition with any one of his subjects, for the defence of his own private interest, to the decision of the tribunals; it matters not---turbulent spirits, daring writers, ever dissatisfied with the Government that tolerates them, more jealous of being spoken of than anxious for the interest of the people, which they care little for, though they make it their pretext, are always certain of being listened to, when they recite, with some share of eloquence, the common-place phrases and reproaches that have been made, from the very origin of societies, to every Government in the world. Foreigners especially, who, when upon their travels got acquainted with these contaminators, generally welcomed their declamations; the English more than others, for in their country they are in some measure a part of the national character.

Whether it is that the English will acknowledge no other limited Monarchy, besides that from which they derive their glory and happiness; whether the opposition that has ever prevailed between the two nations, has been sufficient to persuade that the one boast-



ing of being a free-people, the other must necessarily be slaves; or whether the English nation, in order to enjoy the more its liberty, must think its rival\* could not partake of similar blessings; the prejudice I have mentioned has generally been adopted in England. It is an hereditary opinion, instilled by education, and deeply engraven by time; all their travellers have repeated it; all their poets sung it; and the observing man who knows better, and might combat it, dares not attack in front this bulwark of popularity, which renders it respectable. We must then honour and be thankful to the candour of a writer who declares,† “ That although there  
 “ were imperfections and abuses in that Mo-  
 “ narchy, it was consistent with every im-  
 “ provement that can enliven and embellish  
 “ society, with much individual happiness,  
 “ and great national prosperity.”

I should have nothing more to say in addition to such a declaration, if my present publication was an answer, instead of a supplement, to that I have just quoted.

Were it seasonable to discuss so important a question at present, I would ask, whether it is true, that in fact, any such Government, as an absolute Monarchy, can possibly exist? and if so, whether it can last fourteen centuries, among an enlightened people? The  
 Author,

\* It is to be noticed, that the greatest efforts to effect the ruin of the Constitution and Liberty of England, originated at the very moment the French began to speak of them.  
 men Remarks on the Circumstances, &c.

Author who is the most partial to popular principle, has asserted, that a true democracy never has nor never will exist: might we not say the same of an absolute Monarchy? These two forms of Government may be compared to the two extremities of the ideal scale of social system, and experience has proved, with respect to all human establishments, that the imperfection of their elements compelled them to continue always in an equilibrium. Such is partly the reason why the preservation of those delicate bodies requires so much care, the space allowed to them is void of natural, and only possessed of conventional boundaries. Fury may transgress them, and violence destroy them; wisdom and moderation alone can keep within them.

But why should I wander through a metaphysical labyrinth, at a time when facts oppress us so heavily? Of little signification, is it to enquire, whether the former Monarchy was or was not absolute, when we have no choice but between that and anarchy. The question is not to know which of all possible Governments would suit France best, since, in these present circumstances, one alone can restore its tranquillity. The true object of the question, is the safety of Europe. The object is to know, whether a Monarchy that has been tried for a long series of ages, is not to be preferred to the puerile essays of the incoherent Constitution of the French Revolutionists: whether it

it is more conformable to the interests and dignity of the Powers of Europe, to recur to this means, the effects of which are certain, or to venture to follow the new legislators in their eternal experiments, in their unintermitting delirium: whether, in case any reform was necessary, it would be seasonable in the present circumstances.\* This question did not appear problematical to the English Government, when the French were invited “ to  
 “ join the standard of an hereditary Monarchy,  
 “ not for the purpose of deciding in this mo-  
 “ ment of disorder, calamity, and public dan-  
 “ ger, on all the modifications of which this  
 “ form of Government may hereafter be suf-  
 “ ceptible, but in order to unite themselves  
 “ once more under the empire of law, of  
 “ morality, and of religion, and to secure, at  
 “ length, to their own country, external peace,  
 “ domestic tranquillity, a real and genuine  
 “ liberty, a wise, moderate, and beneficent  
 “ Government, and the uninterrupted enjoy-  
 “ ment of all the advantages which can con-  
 “ tribute to the happiness and prosperity of a  
 “ great and powerful nation.”

Would it be a stain in the annals of a free people, were it transmitted to posterity, that it has gloried in re-establishing the Government I have described? Would England no longer be the most generous nation in Europe, should it restore to a rival the only suitable,

\* With regard to the advantages of reformation, the most essen-  
 tial have ever been necessarily produced by compulsive circumstances.

appropriated Government, though at the same time, it did not procure the same political Liberty, which does so much honour to Englishmen?

Enjoy, ye happy Islanders, the valuable benefit of your Constitution; but recollect that a limited Monarchy, in the sense you consider it, is by no means applicable to a nation placed on a continent, and surrounded by warlike people. One single reason will be sufficient to convince you, from its biographical situation, France is necessitated to keep a considerable standing army.

But, even those who insist upon the Monarchy of France being an absolute Monarchy, would not, I suppose, for that reason, prolong the war, and defer longer the tranquillity of Europe, rather than have recourse to the only means that can be productive of a solid and durable Peace.

In fact, though an absolute Monarchy is a bad Government, the people who are subjected to it are the only sufferers; its neighbours have no concern in it. The terrible Bastiles, the Lettres de Cachet, so much complained of, do not disturb its external relations with other nations. From whence then this tender and scrupulous concern for France? Wherefore should we wish to do more good to France than general tranquillity requires? Ah! let that deficient Government, which so long constituted her happiness and glory, be restored; that bad Government,



ment, under which that country became the abode of the arts and pleasures, that attracted such a number of foreigners to its metropolis and large cities. Thither travellers would go to share the sweets and luxuries of society; and though they there enjoyed the most uncontrolled Liberty, yet, on their return home, they lamented the reigning despotism.

Will it be alleged, that the vices of an absolute Monarchy, though they make the subjects unhappy, do not secure the neighbouring nations from the dangerous sallies of the troublesome ambition of such a Government? Though I should admit this, may I not reply, that such apprehensions are still more to be entertained from the inquietude and perpetually reviving agitations of a Senate, or the chiefs of a Republic? Did there ever exist a more bustling, ambitious, and troublesome people to its neighbours than the ancient Romans? Is it known that an extensive Republic must be a conquering power? If it does not expand itself without, it must be devoured within, by its internal activity.

It would not become me to pretend to give advice to the English, relative to the interest of their Commerce; but they know very well that by the last treaty, France was become one of their markets, and that it was not the least beneficial. Now the present state of its manufactures, and the long languishment of its commerce, will make the French, more than ever, tributaries to the industry of a  
people

nation they once emulated. It is undoubtedly a very promising prospect for England, to find in the wants of a country of large consumption, a market for the merchandize, which, since the war, has been stored in warehouses at home; and most certainly, nothing can be more favourable to this branch of exportation, than the peaceful and protecting authority of the former Monarchy.

Besides, wherefore should the pleasing idea, so agreeable to gratitude, that new compacts of alliance and friendship may succeed to the jealousy which has so long divided the two nations, be a mere illusion? Is such a division of the same utility as that of their shores?--- Why may it not be hoped, that the recollection of the tokens of concern, and the proofs of benevolence which the unfortunate French have met with in this hospitable land, will survive in their hearts, be perpetuated in the memory of their posterity, and become the implanted seed of mutual friendship between the two nations? Wherefore should we not yield to the persuasion, that the Royal Family of France, after having been reinstated in its former rights, by the endeavours and pecuniary assistance of England, will think it their duty to immortalize their gratitude, by every means of securing and perpetuating an alliance between both nations? No, never shall a treaty of peace have contained more certain evidence or tokens of the tranquillity of Europe.

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Though it is afflicting to own, the prejudices of foreigners against our former Government, are less surprising, when we see them authorised by some individuals who call themselves Frenchmen: no less vain than guilty they calumniate, in their interested declamations, the Government which they have overthrown, through fear it should be restored. In imitation of Erostratus, they have acquired a name; their vanity is hurt at the nullity which has befallen them; they endeavour to make amends by intriguing, and they would wish to behold the destruction of the whole universe, rather than to see the temple which they have destroyed rise again. Though they can no longer dissemble the weakness of their schemes, they are obstinate in their opinion, and in repeating that they were necessary; and they report every where that the public opinion of the French is averse to the re-establishment of Monarchy. The public opinion! As if the people could possibly have an opinion: they want both time and faculties. The history of this world, especially that of our Revolution, furnish us with ample evidence with regard to those who are invested with the sovereign authority; and it is a strange argument to reproach the conquered party with not having on their side the blinded multitude, which always follow the triumphal car.

However, notwithstanding what may be the case in other countries, never in France have  
we

we had a public opinion, properly so termed, upon what is called Political Constitution. We enjoyed, without meddling with it, the felicity productive of that to which we were indebted for fourteen centuries of existence, not unattended with some glory; yet we were not entirely indifferent to the welfare of our country, nor to the Government we lived under. With us, sentiment was a substitute for opinion. To love their King and Country was the second religion of the French. They who have planned our calamities, knew it well. It is in the King's name, that they have made the Revolution.\* It is with the Royal authority that they have crushed Monarchy; but the remembrance and regret of it still remain, and five years of calamity and crimes have not extinguished this sentiment in the breast of the French. There it still survives and preserves all its power; and though the spring is compressed by fear and despair, it will exert itself, but with greater force, when it shall be capable of acting. Let us cast our eyes on that brave Royalist army, whose formation,

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existence,

\* In several parts of the Kingdom, troops of peasants have been seen compelled by hired ruffians, to go, with tears in their eyes, to set fire to the *Chateaux* of the Nobility, or their Landlords. In order to force them to commit these horrible crimes, they were shewn forged orders from the King, who had sentenced, it was said, to have their Seats destroyed, the refractory Nobles, who refused to deliver the titles of their abolished revenue.

In several Provinces, and namely in Alsace, those supposed *Ordonnances Royales* were printed in French and German, and posted up.



existence, achievements and preservation, are so many miracles. They ascertain better than any argument, what may be expected from the sacred enthusiasm of the true French towards their God and their King; and it is not to be imagined that this sentiment is exclusively to be met with in the Provinces of Anjou, Poitou, and Brittany; it needs only proper encouragement to manifest itself from one extremity of the kingdom to the other.

A handful of men who were in want of every thing, have collected under the banners of Religion and Royalism; forced to conquer, even before they were supplied with the means; they first were obliged to fight for arms. Their artillery, ammunition, and soldiers have been the produce of their victories, for a long time rapid and glorious, although they had but a small body to oppose large armies, continually reinforced and renewed. They certainly might have obtained more important advantages, had they received any further assistance, and especially as one of the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty said, when he spoke of the expedition of the Emigrants:\*

“ A strong concentrated body of men disciplined, appointed, and provided before they  
 “ take the field; commanded by men, not  
 “ only eminent for honour and military talents, but revered for the victories and  
 “ laurels

\* Mr. Dundas's Speech, 17th April, 1794.

“ laurels they had won to adorn the Crown  
 “ of France, fighting under the same banners,  
 “ having the same object, and animated by  
 “ the same enthusiasm as those of La Vendée.”

Nevertheless, entirely forlorn, without either magazines or fortified towns, sometimes defeated, once nearly annihilated, but never subdued; these firm and courageous men have maintained themselves for about three years, in the country where they were formed. They have compelled the enemy, who had taken a solemn oath to destroy them, to acknowledge their independence. They have dictated terms of Peace to those who, at this present time, wish to impose such rigorous conditions to all Europe. Every Power in Europe has heard, with concern and admiration, the report of their successes and gallant efforts; they have made vows for their future welfare; the calamities of the times have prevented them from doing more; but the effects of Royalism in France are not less evident; and by what it has performed in a small part of the kingdom, we may judge what it might operate through all the Provinces, if it dared to rear its head.

But, can we judge of the opinion of a whole nation when in a state of blindness, of intoxication, and of delirium? The fidelity of the French to a series of sixty-seven Kings, their attachment to a Monarchy which they have preserved for fourteen hundred years, are unquestion-

questionably of more weight, and more respectable authority than five years of dissensions, variations and troubles. They must outweigh in the balance of judgement the opinion that is to be entertained of the true sentiments of the French nation ; besides, it is known who the organs of the prevailing opinion in France have been from the beginning of the disturbances. To give credit to the reports of such instruments would be as bad as to judge of the English nation, from the offence offered to the sacred person of his Majesty the 29th of October last, or from the acts of violence and treason committed at the time of Cromwell.

Those who suppose that the people of France have really an opinion relative to the Government they prefer, do not, perhaps, mean to assert that it is in consequence of their having maturely studied the nature and details of a political Constitution. Such a knowledge is to be acquired only by a comparison of the several experiments they have tried ; but with what modesty can it be pretended that such a comparison would prove disadvantageous to the former Government ? O ye, on whom the re-establishment of France and the preservation of Europe depend ! admitting that human power can still effect these important objects ; beware, above all things, not to mistake the measures you are to employ ; beware of those impostors, who, like quacks, impudently intrude upon the dying patient, who might re-  
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proach them with having brought him to an untimely death, to offer some new medicine; beware of the turbulent, presumptuous and incorrigible tribe of innovators. They pretend, with the assistance of their books, to make converts of the people who do not read; and, notwithstanding the dreadful catastrophe to which they themselves have fallen victims, they still continue to propose new hypothetical Constitutions, and new codes of Religion. Righteous Heaven! when will men be cured of the rage for innovation?

At a time when the most enlightened wisdom ought to distrust itself; when the most approved remedies are hardly certain enough, is there a man daring enough to propose new ones? Is there so avowed an enemy to public tranquillity and felicity, as to propose new experiments? Unhappy wretches! Behold the deplorable effects of the spirit of innovation. Behold the pitiable situation to which we have been brought in consequence of your wonderful essays, those even that have had but a transitory influence, such as the *Cour-Plénier*e, and the Assembly of the *Notables*,\* a weak remedy, a bad palliative, a dangerous forerunner, and chief cause of the convocation of the *Etats-Généraux*; for the imprudence of this convocation is no longer problematical in the eyes of the man of sense, who maturely considers the state of confusion and exhaust-

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\* In England they were named Not-able.



ment into which ignorant and dilapidatory ministers had plunged the kingdom.

In all probability, it will be asked, how it is possible to seduce and deceive a people incapable of forming any judgment; but it may be answered, by misleading and inflaming their minds, for which reason it is necessary to bring them back to other sentiments, when we wish to cure them.

I know that a Republican author, who has often boldly employed his pen against the Revolutionists of France, and has deplored with much eloquence, the calamities of anarchy, has said, that it had been too often and too idly repeated, that this was the cause of Kings. He has warned the powers of Europe, that they would commit a great error, if they announced a design of re-establishing the former Monarchy. According to his opinion, they ought to declare, that they have taken arms “ for the defence of all ranks and  
“ conditions, to maintain the religion of the  
“ people, the authority of the laws, the sacred  
“ rights of nations, and the power of public  
“ morality.” \* These certainly are great and fine ideas; but are they of such a nature as to have any influence over the people? Rarely are they seen to enlist under so many banners at a time. It is better, in my opinion, to propose only one object clear, distinct, well-determined

\* Considerations on the nature of the French Revolution, &c.  
§ 17.

determined, well known, in order that they may not be at a loss where to rally, without danger of mistake.

Robbers speak likewise of honourable protection; Atheists of their religion; Anarchists proclaim laws; Revolutionists have invoked the rights of nations; the Convention itself has spoken of public morality; wherefore, I cannot easily believe, that metaphysical ideas are of any use to convey persuasion to the people. To produce such an effect, great examples, and illustrious names are necessary.

The French Revolution would never have acquired so much strength, if the leaders of it had remained within the narrow and obscure circle of their first ideas of Reform and a Constitution.

But the system that has arisen since, upon the ruins of Monarchy, however abominable for its bloody measures and horrid principles, bears a much more celebrated name than the ridiculous embryo of the Legislators of 1789, which name must have acquired a much greater influence over the public mind than the enigmatical equivocal Constitution, that monstrous and ephemerical production, which became an object of contempt to other nations, and of horror to the French of every description. *Live the Constitution*, has never been other than the clamour of derision, and philosophical contumely has been constantly seated on the lips of the most ardent panegyrists of that Constitution. Illustrious exam-  
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ples and great talents, on the contrary, have unfortunately ennobled in History the Republican horrors, and the cry of *Live the Republic*, has too often been echoed with glory in the annals of the world. Indeed, the bloody anarchy which pollutes and disgraces France, has no other character of a Republic, but the mere appellation. But what more is required by the generality?

What then shall we oppose to the wild delirium of Republicanism? Shall we resort to the obscure and uncertain system of a Constitution, in which its authors themselves will continually find alterations necessary? What shall we oppose to Republican fanaticism, which glories in regicide and parricide, the most shocking of all crimes, from the two highly celebrated example of Brutus? Shall we admit the wretched and contemptible Charter of the Rights of Man? Lastly, what shall we oppose to licentiousness, irreligion, and atheism, upon which these modern Encelades wish to found the edifice of their Republic? Shall it be the severe and coercive regulations of a morality without basis, of a religion devoid of power? No; since the French nation, in the course of its disastrous irregularities, is arrived at the highest point of political and irreligious corruption, it can only be restored to health and life by being brought back to the salutary Government which was so long productive of its happiness, elevation and glory. Only by recalling to the hearts of Frenchmen that  
innate

innate love for Monarchy and their Kings, can they be rescued from Republican illusions. Only by tracing back to their memory their fourteen centuries of loyalty and happiness, can they be undeceived, and discover all the deception of those brilliant hopes, with which their new Legislators have deluded them. It is to the purity of the Lys, that the French, tired with the filthy colours of the Rebels, are to be recalled. There is no other means of pulling down the infamous Idol to which they prostitute their incense, but a restoration of their former God and worship.

The human mind in general, and that of a lively and ardent nation in particular, is by its nature more liable to pass from one extreme to another, than to remain within an uncertain medium, impossible to be maintained when violent commotions take place.

Although I have candidly delivered my opinion on the only mode in which I think it possible to restore France and Europe to tranquillity, it is not my intention to judge of the propriety of such measures as have been hitherto employed. Neither have I harboured the senseless temerity of advising the Powers concerned in the present war. Nevertheless, as it is not necessary to be admitted into the Privy Council of Kings, to be convinced that it was their duty to take arms in order to oppose and destroy the audacious system of destruction which aims at the overthrow of every Monarchy; so am I also persuaded, that those  
who



who held the reins of the different Governments of Europe have neglected nothing which might check the torrent of corruption that threatens social order with ruin from its very foundation; and that they have carried into execution all the measures which their wisdom considered as best appropriated to circumstances. I have wished to vindicate a measure equally advisable from justice, humanity, and general safety. I hope I may be permitted to express a desire, and to hope, that all others having been tried in vain, this will not be rejected, for which those who are the most acquainted with the spirit and character of the French nation ardently wish, as the best calculated to fulfil their expectation.

F I N I S.



#### ERRATA.

Page 1, line 21, dele *be*; page 2, line 13, for *agreeable to persuasion*, read *agreeable to this persuasion*; page 4, line 24, for *people*, read *nations*; *ibid*, line 27, for *tell*, read *foretel*; page 7, line 30, for *let*, read *left*; *ibid*, last line, for *logged*, read *laid*; page 11, line 16, for *would*, read *should*; page 15, line 32, for *order*, read *ardour*; page 20, line 25, for *are*, read *have*; page 21, line 1, for *powvers*, read *treaties*; page 22, line 31, for *and of course are*, read *and who of course is*; *ibid*, line 32, for *they are*, read *he is*; page 24, line 8, for *population, can*, read *population, it can*; page 33, line 30, for *charge*, read *change*; page 39, line 10, for *people*, read *nations*; *ibid*, line 11-12, for *biographical*, read *topographical*; page 40, line 21, for *is it*, read *it is*; *ibid*, line 21, for *?*, read .



